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a cura di Delfino Ambaglio

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Indice

A. Rizza, <i>Linguistical and cultural layers in the anatolian myth of Illuijanka</i>	pag. 9
C. Angelucci, <i>L'oracolo relativo alla battaglia di Sepeia</i>	» 25
A. Beltrametti, <i>Antigone o della questione morale. L'elaborazione tragica della sovranità democratica</i>	» 33
P.A. Tuci, <i>La boulé nel processo agli strateghi della battaglia delle Arginuse: questioni procedurali e tentativi di manipolazione</i>	» 51
M. Bertoli, <i>Anito tra democrazia e teramenismo</i>	» 87
E. Culasso Gastaldi, <i>Le prossenie ateniesi del IV secolo a.C. Gli onorati magnogreci e siciliani</i>	» 103
C. Bearzot, <i>Ancora sul giudizio di Eforo a proposito di Filisto (Plut. Dion XXXVI,3 = FGrHist 70 F 220)</i>	» 125
S. Spada, <i>La Syrakosia di Ierone, fra gigantismo e misura</i>	» 135
G. Ottone, <i>Strabone e la critica a Timostene di Rodi: un frammento di Polibio (XII.1.5 B-W) testimone del Περὶ λιμένων?</i>	» 153
M.T. Zambianchi, <i>Strabone e la colonizzazione fenicia in Spagna</i>	» 173
D. Ambaglio, <i>Pausania e gli storici dell'occidente greco</i>	» 193
S. Bianchetti, <i>Gli errori delle tradizioni classiche nel pensiero geografico tra tarda antichità e medioevo</i>	» 199
S. Maggi, <i>Culti locali e religione di stato nelle Galliae (e nelle Hispaniae) in età augusteo-tiberiana</i>	» 213
I. Mastrorosa, <i>Utilitas, prassi e calendario nella trattatistica agronomica tardoantica: l'apicoltura in Palladio</i>	» 227

Alfredo Rizza

Linguistic and cultural layers in the Anatolian myth of Illuijanka

In another work ⁽¹⁾ about the Anatolian «myth of the Storm God and the dragon Illuijanka» I tried to catch at once the reciprocal influences of different humanistic disciplines when investigating and highlighting the cultural peculiarities and origins of an ancient text. The philological competence can be not enough a prerequisite, especially if our linguistic competence is not direct and complete and if we lack what can be called the «communicative competence» ⁽²⁾. This is exactly the case with a Hittite text as the one about Illuijanka. Our knowledge of the writing system, of the common mistakes due to transmission, and of Hittite written-culture in general terms, may surely lead us to the linguistic competence of Hittite language needed to glimpse deep meanings, but without a general competence in cultural anthropological questions we would not gather as many elements, or, by pushing our research forward without the sense, the most aware possible, of our pre-comprehensions in matter of «culture», we could, quite easily, wrongly assign to ancient Hittite people experiences, customs and cultural as well as social significances they did not own.

I tried to point out, at least partially, the connection of hittitology with anthropological knowledge in the article mentioned above; in this paper I will take into consideration the relationship between the internal analysis of the Hittite documentation (a matter of philological competence) and the use of etymology (a matter of linguistic competence). I hope that in the end it may also emerge that the anthropological knowledge is indispensable to reach some degree of Hittite «communicative competence».

(*) Abbreviations are in appendix. Many thanks to Guido Borghi, Livia Capponi, Onofrio Caruba, Andrea Intilia.

(1) A. Rizza, *The sort of Hupasija. Problems of the interaction between language and culture*, forthcoming.

(2) For a sketch about the role of the «communicative competence» cfr. Rizza, *Hupasija* cit. and the bibliography there cited.

1. The Illuijanka myth

The myth of the struggle between the Storm God and the dragon Illuijanka (CTH 321) is a well known Old Hittite composition known from later copies of the Empire period⁽³⁾. It belongs to the group of «Anatolian» mythological texts⁽⁴⁾ and is composed by two «mutually supplementary»⁽⁵⁾ versions. Within the narration of the fighting of the two opposing powers, the attention is focussed on the mid passage between the initial defeat of the Storm God and his subsequent final victory. This is the stage in which a human being gets involved and somehow helps to obtain the vengeance of the Storm God⁽⁶⁾.

In the first version — the one this paper is concerned with — the goddess Inara (a tutelary deity that shows some affinities with Ištar⁽⁷⁾) aided by Hupasija, a man, to whom she yields herself, helps the defeated Storm God. She organizes a party where Illuijanka and his sons, drunk and full to the point that they are no longer able to go back to the cave they came from, are eventually bound by Hupasija and killed by the Storm God. The text proceeds telling us what happens to the man: he is confined in a house built by Inara who now does not allow him to go back home. But human nature is so strong in showing itself as constitutively weak that, after he has seen through the windows his wife and his sons, Hupasija implores the goddess to let him back. We don't know for sure what happens thereafter because of the gap in the tablet at this point, but Hupasija is almost surely killed. As it becomes evident at first reading, the battle of the Storm God against the dragon is to be considered as a frame to the real narration, that is, the story of Hupasija and Inara. This story is a fundamental key to comprehend the Hittite vision of life; that is why the text is of great importance in understanding Hittite culture.

In what follows I will investigate the relevance of the correct understanding of some single crucial words, in their use as well as in their etymological aspect (a matter of linguistic competence, at least mostly) in establishing cultural origins. A broader discussion on the interpretation of the text may be found in Rizza, *Hupasija*, cit.

(3) Edition: G. Beckman, *The Anatolian myth of Illuyanka*, «Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society» 14 (1982). For philological notes and dating see Beckman, *Illuyanka* cit., 20-25. For bibliography prior to 1990, see F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Il mito di Illuijanka*, in F. Pecchioli Daddi - A.M. Polvani, *La mitologia ittita*, Brescia, 1990. See also GhR, *passim*.

(4) As opposed to «Mesopotamian» or «Hurrian» mythologies.

(5) So Beckman, *Illuyanka* cit., 24 n.87, against those who believe that the second version «replaces» the no more used preceding one.

(6) What happens to that mortal and what is his role and meaning has been a much debated question, see Rizza, *Hupasija*, cit.

(7) Cfr. Pecchioli Daddi, *Il mito* cit., 42-44.

2. Inara

The term *Inara* and, jointly, the divinity⁽⁸⁾ this name identifies, are regarded as Hattian, even if the structure of the noun in itself does not point unequivocally to such an origin. The arguments in favour of this interpretation can be summarized very briefly as follows.

1) *Inara* appears in contexts considered Hattian, or, anyway, in archaic texts, where Hattian influence would be more pervading such as the Telipinu or Illuijanka-myths, or the invocations of CTH 733, or the OS rituals StBoT 25⁽⁹⁾, n. 4-5, 12, 19, 30, 31, 32, 33, 59, 60, 110, 111, 119. As Klinger points out, «[Das bisher angeführte Material] gehört unbezweifelbar der hattischen Schicht an, so dass auch an der Herkunft der Göttin *Inar* kaum ein Zweifel bestehen kann»⁽¹⁰⁾. Immediately after, however, he writes: «Problematisch ist dagegen ein Beleg aus KBo 20.10 ii 14 (= StBoT 25 Nr. 59). Dass hier die Nesischen Sänger auftreten, spricht an sich gegen eine hattische Herkunft der Göttin *Inar*»⁽¹¹⁾. This point will be discussed later.

2) Because of the graphematic opposition <n> vs. <nn> *Inar* must be kept distinct from the stem *innar-*, this one of clear IE origin⁽¹²⁾. Kammenhuber⁽¹³⁾ explains well why, at a certain time, the two forms, *Inar(a-)*, and *innar(-a-)* got overlapped in a sort of «folk-etymology». Puhvel, too, sub voce *annari-*, in HED, 62 keeps etymologically separate *Inara*, defined a «Hattic female tutelary deity» from the PIE root **Hner-*. In HEG, sub voce **innaru-* Kammenhuber's explanation is accepted by Tischler⁽¹⁴⁾.

3) The name of the goddess *Inara* appears in two forms, one athematic, *Inar* and another one, this time thematic, *Inara-*. This evidence is generally explained by a secondary Hittite thematization of

(8) GhR, p. 436-438.

(9) E. Neu, *Althethitische Ritualtexte im Umschrift*, StBoT 25, Wiesbaden, 1980.

(10) J. Klinger, *Untersuchungen zur Rekonstruktion der hattischen Kultschicht*, StBoT 37, Wiesbaden, 1996, 160.

(11) Ibidem.

(12) Two possible reconstructions are currently followed. Neither consider *Inar* as etymologically joined to *innar(a/u)-*. 1) From PIE **h₂n-ér* (= *h₂n₄nér*), Grk. ἀνῆρ → **en-h₂nor-ó-* (see, with references, AHP, 50) > Hitt. **innar-a-*. 2) The **h₂* is not considered certain by those who reconstruct, for PIE, more than three laryngeals. In Puhvel's hesalaryngealistic environment, *innar-* (see HED, 373) comes from PIE **E₁én-* (with *E₁* standing for a «non-colouring laryngeal»; this reconstruct here correspond to **h₁én-*) → *E₁nér*, but it is not thoroughly explained why PA **enar* would lead to Hitt. *innar-*, with gemination of the nasal that would raise **e* to */i/*; *Inar*, also for Puhvel is of Hattian origin and must not be confused with PA **enar*. I think both reconstructions show some difficulties, especially for the nature of the laryngeal. Probably, in fact, if we start from a root **Zén-*, the only laryngeal able to satisfy Hittite and Greek data should be **/h₄/*.

(13) A. Kammenhuber, *Die hethitischen Göttin Inar*, «Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie» 66 (1976).

(14) Cfr. as well G. McMahon, *The Hittite state cult of tutelary deities*, Chicago, 1991, 23-27.

the original Hattian term⁽¹⁵⁾. On this stem alternation a few words are needed. Why should this be interpreted as an evidence for a Hattian origin?⁽¹⁶⁾ There doesn't seem to be any positive answer, because thematizations of comm. gen. -r stem are a typical Hittite process operating within surely IE words⁽¹⁷⁾. The most important point to keep in mind is that Inara as a proper name can be subject to different graphic styles: a pure logographic one, a logographic with semantic and/or grammatical-phonetic determinatives and a syllabographic⁽¹⁸⁾ one. Within this last possibility, the writing can reflect either an actual linguistic form in terms of sound and grammar or a pure «graphic» *sprachunwirkliche*⁽¹⁹⁾ realization, fixed for every grammatical situation and similar in form to the pure stem of the word. This has been sometimes considered an «absolute». This form happens to be graphically identical with some proper Hittite inflected words, especially with the terminative in -a or the so-called (accepting its existence) «casus commemorativus»⁽²⁰⁾.

A survey of Inara's attestations in its «absolute» form (as reported in OHP) has been undertaken. Situations in which this «absolute» form is in some way significantly next to other akkadograms or ideograms have been considered positive for an «absolute» writing. Otherwise it has been examined if we are dealing with a commemorative case.

Fig. 1 gives a sample of positive entries for the identification of the *sprachunwirkliche* writing of Inara. It was actually impossible to find any clear negative evidence. For what concerns evidences like KBo 30.56 iv 7 or KUB 35.135 Rs 16', where we do not have the case of the form I-NA-AR next to an ideogram or an akkadographic element, it must be noted that the context is a «list» of deities, an environment that can be suitable both for the use of the commemorative case and the «absolute» writing. After having considered the graphic realizations of the

(15) HEG, 360: «Eine protohattische Göttin *Inar* wurde schon in altheth. Zeit als Stadtgöttin von Hattuša in der form *Inar*, thematisiert *Inara*- übernommen, als Schutzgottheit schlechthin (^PLAMA) aufgefasst und gab so Anlass zu volksetymologischen Assoziationen und Interferenzerscheinungen mit heth. *innaru*, luw. *annaru*-»

(16) Please note that here we are speaking of «origin» in a purely linguistic sense.

(17) See for an appropriate discussion and for references to previous bibliography, E. Rieken, *Untersuchungen zur nominalen Stammbildung des Hethitischen*, StBoT 44, Wiesbaden, 1999, 273-281.

(18) Reflecting Hittite or Akkadian language.

(19) See HE² §345. Cfr. also F. Starke, *Die Funktion der dimensional Kasus und Adverbien im Althethitischen*, StBoT 23, 1977, 34 and ibidem n. 33: «Die so genannte Stammform ist eine sprachunwirkliche Form (Graphik) und wird dementsprechend in der Transkription wie ein Akkadogramm behandelt, z. B. LÚ^{URU}HA-AT-TI».

(20) See E. Neu, *Einige Überlegungen zu den hethitischen Kasusendungen*, in E. Neu - W. Meid (ed.), *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch*, Innsbruck, 1979, 179-185; but cfr. now S. Zeilfelder, *Archaismus und Ausgliederung: Studien zur sprachlichen Stellung des Hethitischen*, Heidelberg, 2001.

other deities mentioned, I found it impossible to count as an occurrence of «casus commemorativus» KUB 35.135 Rs 16'.

Most commonly, as evidenced above, the genitival *I-NA-AR*, is used in phrases with non-Hittite noun-genitive order (similar to Sumerian order or to Akkadian order with status constructus, but without the genitive ending), e.g. É ^{DINGIR}*I-NA-AR*, «house, temple of Inara»; ^{LUGUDU}₁₂ ^{DINGIR}*I-NA-AR*, «anointed of Inara», *A-WA-AT* ^{DINGIR}*I-NA-AR*, «Inara's word» (21); non-Hittite order also for occurrences of *INAR* with Akkadian prepositions e.g. *A-NA* ^{DINGIR}*I-NA-AR*. The accusative *INAR* of KUB 35.135 Rs 16', instead, follows Hittite syntactic rules, but it reveals itself as an «absolute» writing form because it does not show the case ending (22). For what concerns Cappadocian Colonies onomastics, after having remembered that at the Capp. OA graphematic sequence <inar> can correspond the Hittite sequence <inar> as well as <innar> (23), the proper name Inar can effectively be an element in favour of a real Hittite athe-matic form *inar*, because it would be etymologically improbable a realization of the stem with double /n/ without a thematic vowel if the gemination of Hitt. **innara-/innaru-* is caused by the adjoined prefix **en-* (**en-h_{2/4}n-ör-o-* / **en-h_{2/4}n-ör-u-*) (24). Also the scribe Inar of KBo 5.7 Rs. 55 could give positive evidence (if it is not another case of *sprachunwirkliche* rendering, being in a colophon).

Now /inar/ need not be Hattic to undergo a subsequent thematization. If we consider it to be IE, we face two possible consequences:

a) an isolated graphematic sequence, either Capp. OA or Hittite, <inar> can only reflect a phonemic sequence /inar/ and not /innar/ (25), because the latter is grammatically improbable in PIE (if /innar-u-/ < **en-h_{2/4}n-ör-u-*);

b) *inar* can be traced back to a **Zenor*, maybe **h₄ēn-ör*, in view of the graphic realization *i-na-a-ar* of KBo 21.94 iv 6, if this reflects a nominative, and can be related to *innar-a/u-* if this one is from **en-h₄n-ör-o/u-* (26).

(21) See the list in OHP, 188-190. Extremely interesting is the use in «proper» Hittite gen. form with gen.-noun constructions with, e.g. ^{DINGIR}Inaraš ḫalukan; ^{DINGIR}Inaraš parna; ^{DINGIR}Inaraš maltešnaš (OHP, 189-190).

(22) Idem for KBo 21.61 iii 10 (^{KUR}kurša ^dInar).

(23) Within the abundant material exemplifying the problem in E. Laroche, *Les noms des Hittites*, Paris, 1966, just consider the case of *l(n)narawa*, Capp. *I-na-ra-wa*, Hitt. *In-na-ra-u-wa-aš*.

(24) The uncertainty, for the laryngeal, between *h₂* and *h₄* is to be ascribed to the fact that also *h₂* would not survive in Hittite due to «Saussure-Hirt's law» (cfr. AHP, 49-52).

(25) A non-isolated writing <inar> can theoretically stand either for /inar-/ or /innar-/ but, if it is in allographic distribution with <innar>, as it is the case indeed, the only possible phonemic counterpart must be /innar-/.

(26) In this case, as suggested by Dr. Guido Borghi, it is possible a derivation from an amphycinetic [+animate] **h₄ēn-ör*, gen. **h₄n-r-és* and, through **h₄ēn-ör-(o-)* «that which belongs to the animate strength» we can have a personified **h₄ēn-ör*, gen. **h₄ēn-ör-es/os*. A more detailed analysis in a future contribution. Grk. ἀνίρ represents a hysterocinetic counterpart.

In search of conclusions about Inara and its origin, we can note that point 1) above is not probative *per se*; point 2) keeps *innar(a)*- etymologically separate, but does not trouble about the etymon of Inara, and takes for granted its origin is Hattian; finally, point 3) brings to light the fact that there is no clear evidence for any athematic stem for Inara, and if there was one indeed, this stem could have been originally Hittite. If Klinger⁽²⁷⁾ is correct when he says: «*Festzuhalten bleibt aber, dass nach den bisher bekannten althethitische Texten die Göttin allein als Inar auftritt und dass die Hethitisierung der Namensform eindeutig jüngeren Datum ist*»⁽²⁸⁾, the attestation of a casus commemorativus *Inar* would be an important piece of evidence for an athematic stem that not only does not need to be Hattian, but responds quite well to the typical thematization of originally Hittite athematic stem in recent periods. However, without affirming an IE specificity for Inara nor an IE etymology⁽²⁹⁾, I think it is important to acknowledge that another constitutive element for the recovery, in Hittite texts, of originally Hattian realities should better be considered in a more problematical way.

3. Illuijanka

In a recent article, Katz⁽³⁰⁾ proposed an IE etymology for the term Illuijanka: the starting point is an old proposal by Sayce⁽³¹⁾: Assyrian *ilu* «god» plus Hittite *jankaš* «serpent», cognate with lat. *anguis*.

Katz accepts the equation between the element *-ankaš* and *anguis* and, after an impressive series of links he concludes that lat. *anguilla*, Grk. ἔγγελος and *Illuijankaš* are all etymologically related.

Anguilla and ἔγγελος are a compound meaning «snake-eel», *illuijanka-* would be the same thing with reverse order: «eel-snake». The IE origin is now not simply possible, but should be considered as the best prospect, even if we still lack an exact etymological reconstruction that goes behind the suggestive comparisons; to attempt such a precise reconstruction is beyond my competence⁽³²⁾.

(27) Klinger, *Untersuchungen* cit., 161.

(28) Actually not at all clear to me, because In the OS texts there is no alternation ^{DINGIR}Inar/^{DINGIR}LAMMA, but there does exist inflected forms such as Inari, dat. sg. or Inaras, gen. sg.: those forms can be interpreted either as thematic or athematic.

(29) Decisive, however, outside the trilaryngealistic theory.

(30) J. Katz, *How to be a dragon in Indo-European: Hittite illuijanka and its linguistic and cultural congeners in Latin, Greek and Germanic*, in J. Jasanoff - H.C. Melchert - Oliver L. (ed.), *Mir Curad, studies in honor of Calvert Watkins*, Innsbruck, 1998.

(31) A.H. Sayce *Hittite legend of the War with the Great Serpent*, «Journal of Royal Asiatic Society» (1922).

(32) Cfr. G. Borghi *Composti zoonimici indoeuropei e zoonimi '(indo)mediterranei' in indoeuropeo*, to appear.

We will never gain accurate information on a particular culture by means of etymologies, but to confine our interpretation to a bipolar opposition between what is «Hattic» and what is «*indogermanisch* Anatolian» can only sidetrack our attention in a debate that seems to be actually distant from the phenomenon we want to study.

4. purulli

Janda⁽³³⁾ proposed an IE etymology for the word *purulli*- bringing into attention a Grk. comparandum: *πρύλις*. This word indicates a type of dance, «*danza armata*», dance with weapons. A part from semantics *πρύλις* shows difficulties if compared with *purulli*-, which shows a coherent scriptio plena in the gen. sing. *pu-u-ru-li-ja-aš*⁽³⁴⁾ thus excluding, at first, any connection with initial PIE */Cru/- series. This scriptio plena, however, is not testified in surely OH texts, being used in NS documents (CHD does not specify the linguistic date, if OH or MH), thus proving such a graphematic rendering (scil. with scriptio plena) only from Muršili II on⁽³⁵⁾.

The term *purulli*- is problematic, in view of an IE origin, for other reasons too. The exact Hittite and thus PA structure, especially for the double liquid /ll/ realized either with <ll> or only <l>⁽³⁶⁾ is unclear, as well as the usage of <wu_u>, (definitely not typical for Hittite, but largely used in Hattian, but also Palaic, texts), because it appears only in NH documents⁽³⁷⁾. For an appropriate discussion see Borghi's *B^hrustelā*⁽³⁸⁾.

The relation with the Anatolian comparanda, Lycian *prulli*- (meaning uncertain) and Lydian *borl*- (year) is still unsure⁽³⁹⁾.

5. Hupasiija

For this name it has been proposed a Kaskean origin⁽⁴⁰⁾. The idea

(33) M. Janda, *Tracce indoeuropee nel mito di Ullikummi*, in O. Carruba - W. Meid (ed.), *Anatolisch und Indogermanisch. Anatolico e indoeuropeo: Akten des Kolloquiums der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, Pavia, 22-25 September 1998*, Innsbruck, 2001.

(34) See CHD, sub voce *purulli*-.

(35) See CHD, sub voce *purulli*-.

(36) For inconsistencies in the graphematic rendering of double continuants cfr. S. Kimball, *Hittite historical phonology*, Innsbruck, 1999, 95-96.

(37) In other words, the term *purulli* could have been reinterpreted in a folk-etymology in late periods, as derived from Hattian *wu_ur*, «land» (or sim.) In favour of a connection with Hatt. *wu_ur* is Pecchioli Daddi, *Il mito*, cit.

(38) G. Borghi, *B^hrustelā*, forthcoming.

(39) Cfr. HEG, sub voce *purulli*-.

(40) H. Gonnert, *Institution d'un culte chez les Hittites*, «*Anatolica*» 14 (1987).

comes from the fact that Hupasija's wife and sons live in Tarukka, «*ville autrefois gašgaenne*»⁽⁴¹⁾, and it is particularly interesting if we see⁽⁴²⁾ in the myth (both versions) and in the ritual of CTH 321 allusions to the battles against the Kaska population. Hupasija gives help to Inara and the Storm God (that represents Hittites) against Illuijanka (that represents Kaskeans) betraying first the population he comes from and, then, the Hittites, when he wants to go back. In a way Hupasija can be compared with Enkidu⁽⁴³⁾. He comes from the steppe, representing a sort of proto-typical barbarian, and he is civilized thanks to sexual intercourses. This civilizing power could be seen also in the story of Hupasija, but the latter still reveals his real and rooted nature, untruly and untrustworthy.

Not being convinced by this «strong» ethnic interpretation, I have proposed a rather different reading⁽⁴⁴⁾ and have analysed Hupasija's figure as portraying — somehow — human nature in general for Hittite culture. As regards the etymological aspect, a connection with Hitt. *hup(p)-* «to commingle, to mix, to interlace» < **Hu-p/b^h-*, Grk. ὠφί «weaving, web» (PIE root **Hew-*)⁽⁴⁵⁾ may not be true, but is undoubtedly intriguing.

6. Summing up

Looking at those problems of «origins» I found particularly crucial Klinger's⁽⁴⁶⁾ idea that a part from a problematic testimony in KBo 20.10 ii 14, all the material in which Inara appears, is undoubtedly Hattian. Nonetheless, that the «Singers of Kaneš» officiate for Inara is so problematic, in Klinger's view, to need a specific attempt to save Inara's «Hattianity». Thus Klinger explains that Inara, a «*doch ursprünglich hattischen Göttin*»⁽⁴⁷⁾, is explicitly celebrated in Nesic, possibly because as kings' and state tutelary deity, the state language, Nesic/Hittite, was used.

These problems, in the final analysis, paradoxically reveal how much more difficult is to determine whether something is «Hittite», because an explanation of «how» an element is to be considered Hittite is definitely necessary. «*That the term Hittite has different meanings according to the context in which it is used [...] is only too well known*»⁽⁴⁸⁾.

(41) Gonnet *Institution* cit., 94 n. 52.

(42) Following Gonnet, *Institution* cit.

(43) For Enkidu, Gilgamesh's friend, see G. Pettinato, *La saga di Gilgamesh*, Milano, 1992, 19-

23.

(44) Rizza, *Hupasija* cit.

(45) Cfr. HED, sub voce *hup(p)-*; C. Kühne, *Hethitisch hupišk-*, «*Orientalia*» 59 (1990).

(46) Klinger, *Untersuchungen*, cit., 160.

(47) Klinger, *Untersuchungen*, cit., 161.

(48) H.G. Güterbock, *Toward a definition of the term Hittite*, «*Oriens*» 10 (1957), 233.

So Güterbock starts his paper about the definition of «Hittite», «*if we want to reach some clarity*», he says soon after, «*we must strictly separate two spheres: linguistic and cultural*», so «*the name «Hittite» must mean one thing if applied to a language, another thing if applied to a civilization*» because «*the speakers of this language [scil. Hittite], took part in what may be called «Hittite civilization», but the latter is a mixed culture and cannot in its entirety be ascribed to a single ethnic group*». Clear enough for what concerns the distinction between cultural and linguistic spheres, this position is not transparent in regard to the origins of «those speakers of Hittite»: how do we have to consider them, as part of the Hittite culture? How is to be delineated their contribution to such a mixed culture? Let's see another passage ⁽⁴⁹⁾:

«What, then, is «Hittite» in the cultural sense? It is not by chance that the speakers of the Indo-European Nesian language adopted the old name of the country, Ḫatti, for their own kingdom. As is well known, they took over from the Hattians many cultural elements; as an example we only mention their gods. Thus, the civilization of the Old Kingdom is a mixture of Hattic and Nesian elements, with the Nesian language as the most prominent means of expression».

As we can see, to Nesian people is not expressly ascribed any «cultural» contribution, they assimilate, absorb etc., but what do they give? There used to be a sort of prejudice according to which the Hittites are seen as «barbarian» invaders. Klinger ⁽⁵⁰⁾ comments this view saying:

«die hattisch-hethitische Schicht muss sich in einer Zeit ausgebildet haben, die vor der quellenmäßigen Überlieferung liegt. Der Zusammenhang zwischen Staats- und Militärmacht und kultureller Entwicklung, den A. Ünal ⁽⁵¹⁾ herstellt, wäre zwar in sich durchaus nachvollziehbar, lässt sich aber mit Hilfe der Texte in diesem konkreten Fall [vs. the case of Babylonian and Hurrian influxes] nicht verifizieren, da eine Rückerinnerung der «Hethiter» an die Zeit der Formationsphase ihrer Kultur und ihres Staates, geschweige denn an die Zeit der Einwanderung von Sprechern einer indogermanischen Sprache in Anatolien, sich nicht erhalten hat oder bisher nicht entdeckt wurde.»

(49) Güterbock, *Toward* cit., 236.

(50) Klinger, *Untersuchungen*, cit., 16-17.

(51) A. Ünal, *The role of magic in the Ancient Anatolian religions according to the cuneiform texts from Boğazköy - Ḫattuša*, in H.I.H. Prince Takahito Mikasa (ed.), *Essays on Anatolian studies in the second millennium b.c.*, Wiesbaden, 1988.

To speakers of the Indo-European Nesian language often it is left only a political/military prominence; they do not seem to have any inherited culture, at least at a high level, so they actually needed «*to adopt the indigenous cultural forms as the spiritual superstructure of their new state*»⁽⁵²⁾. Güterbock, moreover, proceeds saying that «*with the New Kingdom more elements were added*», Hurrian, Luwian and Mesopotamian, characterizing Hittite culture as a «pure» mix⁽⁵³⁾. Examining minutely the picture given by Güterbock, we can separate two layers within Hittite culture, an older one, a «Proto-Hittite» or simply Nesian⁽⁵⁴⁾, and a more recent, let's call it simply Hittite (see fig. 2).

The first is not exactly a mixture as it is the second, rather it is the result of the merging of two elements, «proto-Nesian» and Hattian. The second is a real mixed-culture, we call it Hittite, because the Nesian (the result of proto-Nesian plus Hattian) element was the strongest, «*It is the presence of foreign elements that makes us speak of a mixed civilization, and it is their subordination under the Hittite element that justifies the name Hittite for this mixed civilization*»⁽⁵⁵⁾.

Hittite mythology, as well, has been divided in two spheres, an «Anatolian» (generally considered of Hattian origin) and a foreign one (Hurrian, Mesopotamian), but this schematic opposition, as Pecchioli Daddi and Polvani point out, is not good enough to handle the complexity of this material⁽⁵⁶⁾:

«Va infatti osservato che, nella koiné culturale instauratasi nel secondo millennio fra le corti e le scuole scribali del Vicino Oriente di cui gli Ittiti erano partecipi e protagonisti, la possibilità di operare distinzioni di carattere puramente etnico è limitata [...], l'originalità delle singole culture non può essere misurata sulla base della indi-

(52) Ünal, *The role* cit. 53.

(53) The fact is that one element of this mixture seems to be missing. The missing element remains the one I have called «proto-Nesian». Why it is missing should be already clear. If we accept for the term «culture» a meaning that covers not only science, art, religion etc. but also habits, ways of living, material products, it is simply evident that the relation between «proto-Nesians» and Hattians can only have been one of «contact», more or less violent, more or less destructive, a contact due to which both underwent a deep change, but where both surely gave a contribution. The Hattian part, as it appears to me, has polarized the attention.

(54) That Güterbock does not use «Nesian» in a purely linguistic meaning is evident. Cfr. also H.G. Güterbock, *Hittite Mythology*, in S.N. Kramer (ed.), *Mythologies of the Ancient World*, Garden City, 1961. Why I have chosen to label this layer Nesian, will become more evident hereafter. Note, for the moment, that Güterbock himself (*Toward* cit., 237) says «*the Nesian element which had assimilated the Hattic culture [...]*», as if, first, Hattian culture would not be still alive independently; second, as if only the Hattian part had had an effective cultural relevance, while the Nesian *element* doesn't seem to have any role a part that of political dominance. The first layer, consequently presents a more unified and undistinguishable appearance.

(55) Güterbock *Toward* cit., 237.

(56) See, for this discussion, Pecchioli Daddi - Polvani, *La mitologia* cit., 9-10.

viduazione di elementi tipici di un ethnos originario; deve essere invece valutata la capacità che ogni civiltà dimostra di assumere e di rielaborare elementi culturali di diversa provenienza, ma già assimilati in una vasta area del Vicino Oriente».

In this situation how do we have to consider linguistic data? It is clear that the etymological approach, valid *per se*, does not give any clear positive evidence for the definition of a culture, still, if it is correct to refuse the equation language-culture, we cannot keep all the aspects of language outside culture. The distinction between a «linguistic competence» and a «communicative competence» presents itself as a promising theoretical and methodological tool⁽⁵⁷⁾. Certainly, to reach, through a more and more accurate knowledge of grammar, the socio-cultural message is hard, because, the fact that in the majority of case, we cannot go further the hypothetical level is in some way connatural: we can only think of ourselves as «receivers» of a to better-define message, not being the intended addresses. An interpretation of the Illuijanka myth in term of ethnic contrast as the interesting one of Gonnet⁽⁵⁸⁾ exemplifies the problem.

Conclusions

What is Hittite and what is not, in the myth of Illuijanka, sounds undoubtedly a wrong question. Hittite civilization cannot be reduced to one or another «original» culture because the various elements, independently of their derivation are all functional to define Hittite. So, on the one hand, we notice the two layers that constitute what is Hittite, but, on the other hand, we cannot discern the most ancient contributors, either because the type of their relation, essentially reciprocal, is different from that of the participants of the second layer, or because it is not achievable using our documentation.

Should the former interpretation be the more correct, here are some elements to consider. The myth of Illuijanka is a central point in the *purulli*- festival. The *purulli*- festival may have a Hattian origin, because it had an important celebration centre in Nerik or because the term *purulli*- may be Hattian; but it is not presented as such. The protagonists of the myth are all significant figures for Hittite society, but they do not present themselves as Hattians or other. The Storm God cannot be ascribed to any particular ANE culture. Illuijanka, as well as Inara operates in Hittite cultural contexts, and, if language tells us something about their ori-

(57) Cfr. Rizza, *Hupasija* cit.

(58) Gonnet, *Institution* cit.

gin, the former is almost certainly IE, the latter, despite her presence in texts of Hattian origin, seems to be more probably IE, pointing to a possible IE substrate/adstrate in Hattian language and culture, thus redefining IE ⁽⁵⁹⁾ contribution to the first layer. So, in the end, it is the «man» Hupasija, who leaves us so uncertain in matter of origin that most suitably could represent Hittite civilization.

(59) IE here stands for people speaking an IE language that do not necessitate to have had a part in the reconstructed PIE culture.

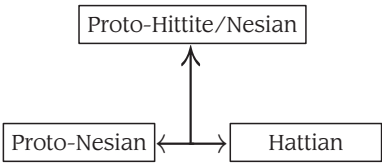
Fig. 1 - Samples of «absolute» writing for Inara

Next to akkadograms or logograms	Isolate
KBo	
10.31 iii 21-22, ^{LÚ} SANGA ^{DINGIR} I-NA-AR	30.56 iv 6-7, ^{DINGIR} UTU
16.77 Vs 9', É ^{DINGIR} I-NA-AR	^{DINGIR} Me-ez-zu-ul-[la]
17.74 ii 46, GAL ^{DINGIR} I-NA-AR	^{DINGIR} I-na-ar ^{DINGIR} Ħu-ul-la
20.33 Vs 13/4, IŠ-TU É ^{DINGIR} I-NA-AR	^{DINGIR} Te-li-pi-nu
3.7 i 21 UM-MA ^{DINGIR} I-NA-AR	ĥu-u-up-pa-ri ši-pa-an-ti
3.7 i 24 A-NA ^{DINGIR} I-NA-AR	
KUB	
30.42 iv 8', É ^{DINGIR} I-NA-AR	35.135 Rs 14'-16', nam-ma [LUG]AL
58.63 ii 12, ^{LÚ} GUDU ₁₂ ^{DINGIR} I-NA-AR	MUNUS.LUGAL TUŠ-aš ^{DINGIR} IŠKUR
59.16 iii 1, ^{LÚ} SANGA ^{DINGIR} I-NA-AR	^{URU} IŠ-TA-NU-WA ^{DINGIR} Ki-n[a-li-ja-an]
60.20 Vs 9', A-WA-AT ^{DINGIR} I-NA-AR	^{DINGIR} Gur[-nu-u-w]a-la-an
	Siša-ú-i-it-ra-aš ^{DINGIR} Ma-a-li-ja[-an]
	ĥu-ur-la-aš ^{DINGIR} I-NA-AR
	^{ID} Ša-a-ĥi-ri-[j]a-an-na 3-ŠU
	a-ku-wa-an-zi ⁽⁶⁰⁾

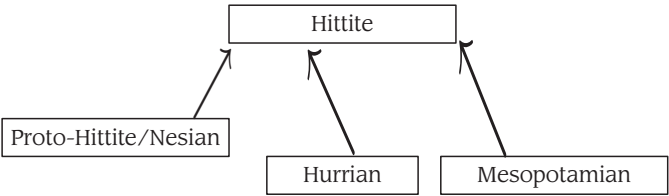
(60) See the transliteration in F. Starke, *Die keilschrift-luwischen Texte in Umschrift*, StBoT 30, Wiesbaden, 1985, 322.

Fig. 2 - Layers in Hittite culture

«First-layer»



«Second-layer»



Abbreviations

Bibliography

AHP	H.C. Melchert, <i>Anatolian Historical Phonology</i> , Amsterdam-Atlanta, 1994.
CHD	<i>Chicago Hittite Dictionary</i> , Chicago, 1980-.
CTH	E. Laroche, <i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i> , Paris, 1971
GhR	V. Haas, <i>Geschichte der hethitischen Religion</i> , Handbuch der Orientalistik, Erste Abteilung, 15 Bd., Leiden, 1994.
HE ²	J. Friedrich, <i>Hethitisches Elementarbuch</i> . Zweite verbesserte und erweiterte Auflage, Heidelberg, 1960.
HED	J. Puhvel, <i>Hittite Etymological Dictionary</i> , Berlin-New York-Amsterdam, 1984-.
HEG	J. Tischler, <i>Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar</i> , Innsbruck, 1983-.
KBo	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boğazköy</i> , Leipzig, Berlin, 1916-.
KUB	<i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boğazköy</i> , Berlin, 1921-.
OHP	B.H.L. van Gessel, <i>Onomasticon of the Hittite Pantheon</i> , Leiden-New York-Köln, 1998.
StBoT	«Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten». Wiesbaden, 1965-.

Philology and linguistics

/ /	Phonemic sequence.
[]	Phonetic sequence.
[+/-]	Semantic properties.
< >	Graphematic sequence.
<	Phonetic derivation.
>	Phonetic development.
→	Morphological development.
ANE	Ancient Near East(ern)
C	Consonant.
Capp.	Cappadocian.
e, o, ...	Long or short, accented or not vowel.
é, ó, ...	Short accented vowel.
ē, ō, ...	Long accented or not vowel; long unaccented vowel (depending on contexts).
ê, ô, ...	Long accented vowel.
H	Any laryngeal
Ĥ	Any laryngeal retained into Hittite (as in E.P. Hamp, <i>Evidence in Albanian</i> , in W. Winter (ed.), <i>Evidence for laryngeals</i> , London-The Hague-Paris, 1960.)
h ₁	Non-colouring laryngeal.
h ₂	a - colouring laryngeal.
h ₃	o - colouring laryngeal.
h ₄	a - colouring laryngeal.
IE	«Indo-European».
MH	Middle Hittite linguistic form.
MS	Middle Hittite graphic form.
NH	Imperial Hittite linguistic form.
NS	Imperial Hittite graphic form.
OA	Old Assyrian.
OH	Old Hittite linguistic form.
OS	Old Hittite graphic form.
PIE	The reconstructed language «Proto Indo-European».
Z	Any laryngeal <i>not</i> retained into Hittite (as in Hamp, <i>Evidence</i> cit.).

